time this passes. The daughter-in-law is expected to help her mother-in-law when needed, but as both women have to work with and cook for their respective husbands, no onerous burdens are placed on the daughter-in-law. The household has no direction as such. Each nuclear family attends to its own tasks. If asked, they aid in the planting and weeding of the gardens of other co-residents but only if this does not detract from their own work. In temporary work-visits a man works for his in-laws in the following way. A man works with the man who married his sister but not with brothers of his brother-in-law. On the other hand, a man is expected on request, to work for any of the brothers and/or parents of his wife.

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Distant kin who may be referred to just as "family" may be resident in the household for varying periods of time, sometimes for years. No special disabilities are entailed and behavior is as described for close kin.

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Compadrazgo. The indisputable mark of Iberian contact in the New World is in the social institution

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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of ritual co-parenthood called Compadrazgo. Historically and basically it is concerned with the ritual induction into the Catholic Church of an individual through the rites of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. The god-parent stands in the role of sponsor, and in effect gives assurance of good faith on the part of the unbaptized, the unconfirmed, and the betrothed. Compadrazgo relationships are held to be sacred, and the incest taboo is extended to those involved in the ritual co-parenthood and to their descendents. Wherever found, compadrazgo seems to have been accepted with gusto, and there are innumerable variations on the basic theme outlined above. Such flexibility is indeed noteworthy. Mintz and Wolf discuss some of the reasons for the success of this social institution:

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> Compadrazgo, once accepted by a social grouping, can be moulded into the community way of life by many means. It is a two-way social system which sets up reciprocal relations of variable complexity and solemnity. By imposing automatically, and with a varying degree of sanctity, statuses and obligations of a fixed nature, on the people who participate, it makes the immediate social environment more stable, the participants more interdependent and more secure (Mintz and Wolf 1950: 353).

relationship of greatest importance is that between the compadres and not between the /kumbatápa/ and /kumbatáma/, that is 'god-father' and 'god-mother,' and the god-child or /ihádu/. The compadres refer to each other as /kopáre/ or /komáre/. The relationship thus set up is utterly without sanction from the Church, and in point of fact, the parties, if they are Negro and Indian, do not feel that they are actually tied to each other ritually.

Quite often the Negro who asks to be permitted to cut the child's nails is a travelling merchant who, from time to time, visits the area. It is to his advantage to have an Indian compadre as this assures him of a place to eat and to sleep in his travels. Similarly, if the Negro lives near a town, the Cayapa compadre will visit him occasionally. Indians going to Esmeraldas, for example, may stay for several days in the home of a Negro compadre. Very often the Negro asks to cut the nails of a Cayapa child for pecuniary reasons so that, for example, the banana merchants seek to extend their compadre ties to as many banana growers as they can. Sometimes the Negro attempts to establish previously

never able to collect cases or to gather actual names, but some of my informants said that they had heard of people occasionally taking a new set of marriage padrinos. The feeling was that this could perhaps be done if the original padrinos gave their permission. In these cases, then, a person could have multiple marriage padrinos. It is most unfortunate that field work exigencies precluded following up these leads. In any event, compadrazgo among the Cayapa has shown itself to be a tremendously flexible instrument of societal ordering.

Religion. The Cayapa are a religious people who call themselves Catholic and are considered to be Catholic by the Church, albeit, "Children in the Faith." They know nothing of the practice of confession and this is not expected of them by the Church. The basic tenets of Catholicism with respect to baptism, marriage, and burial in the Church are followed faithfully by the Cayapa. Within a few months of birth children are taken to the coastal town of Limones or Esmeraldas for baptism. Most marriages are sanctified by a priest, and within a few weeks to a few months after death a special mass will be paid for by the nearest Kin of the deceased.

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas *fiesta*, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in *Esmeraldas*. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several *fiestas* in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the *fiesta* and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding *fiesta* responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the *fiesta* is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is Duende; he lives at the headwaters of

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ʔaʔ/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first